

WESTMINSTER ELECTION.

S P E E C H E S

(OUT of PARLIAMENT)

Addressed to the ELECTORS of the CITY
of WESTMINSTER

By the respective Candidates for their Suffrages to represent
them IN the ensuing PARLIAMENT ;

The Right Hon. CHARLES JAMES FOX.

JOHN HORNE TOOKE, Esq.

Sir ALAN GARDNER, Bart.

Impartially taken as delivered each Day from the Beginning
of the Election to the End.

With the correct Numbers that polled each Day, from
MAY 25, to JUNE 13.

Printed for J. SMITH, PORTSMOUTH-STREET, LINCOLN'S-INN
FIELDS.

[Price ONE SHILLING.]

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Feb. 28, 1903.

ADVERTISEMENT.

AS it is customary to publish SPEECHES IN Parliament, there can be no impropriety in publishing those OUT of Parliament. It is a gratification to those who wish to preserve the public professions of men who are to be their Representatives in the Great Council of the Nation: General elections likewise give the Electors a further gratification, that of *seeing them* as well as *hearing of them* once in seven years.

As the public sentiments of the Candidates at the late election for the City of Westminster, has been expressed to the body of Electors at large in their hearing, they will in some measure be able to judge of the attention that has been paid to the diurnal Orations from the Hustings, exhibited in the following pages.

Mr. Fox's abilities and principles are well known by his uniform conduct, when their Representative in former Parliaments.

Mr. TOOKE (a gentleman known to the public by his sufferings for the public cause) has, in many instances, proved his abilities in the knowledge of the Law and Constitution of his Country, and his determined resolution to support them. On these grounds, he offered himself to the Electors of Westminster to be their Representative,

ADVERTISEMENT.

presentative, unsupported by any political connection: neither power or inclination to influence any single vote, nor any money to bribe with—he gave them an opportunity, if they pleased, to be effectually represented.

Sir Alan Gardner (Vice Admiral of the White) an old Member of Parliament, although new to the Electors of Westminster, was set up in opposition to the above Gentlemen, with all the strong support and influence of the Executive Government.

We shall leave the Readers to make such comments as they please.

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WESTMINSTER ELECTION.

1796.

IN Consequence of the Diffolution the Gentlemen undermentioned offered themselves Candidates to represent the Ancient and Respectable CITY of WESTMINSTER, in the New Parliament, to be holden at WESTMINSTER, JULY 12, 1796.

The Right Hon. CHARLES JAMES FOX.

JOHN HORNE TOOKE, Esq.

Sir ALAN GARDNER, Bart. Vice Admiral of the White, and Major General of Marines.

The following ADVERTISEMENT appeared

May 20, 1796.

To the ELECTORS of WESTMINSTER.

“ GENTLEMEN,

IT is only in times like the present, when attempts are flagitiously made to murder innocent men, that the progress of a Candidate can possibly be, from the Hustings to Newgate, and from Newgate back to the Hustings. The circumstance declares the times: for any man who could reasonably be even suspected of deserving what I have suffered, would be abandoned by the whole human race.

“ But you must be well aware, that if I had never known; or, knowing, had not loved the free Constitution

tution of my country, I should not have been VOTED a traitor by the u rping Proprietors of Boroughs, who, under an insidious pretence of attachment—not to KINGSHIP, which we acknowledge; but to MONARCHY, which we abhor,—are endeavouring to undermine (it is not the place for me here to say how far they have undermined) the lawful Government of KING, LORDS, and COMMONS, and to substitute a tyranny of their own, under (the most odious of all forms) a temporary, elective Dictator, dependent only upon their own corrupt and prostituted votes.

“ In the pursuit of their plan, and for the establishment of their power, they are endeavouring to seat themselves on the same Throne, by the side of their Sovereign; by perverting those laws of Treason, which were EXCLUSIVELY designed to protect the person of the King, and his share of the Government—by perverting them to protect equally the share which themselves have usurped.

“ If they can succeed in this; their next step is a short one: they will trample on him. And whenever the Crown shall hereafter be awakened, and, too late perhaps, compelled to struggle with those usurpers; the most loyal adherents of Royalty will be destroyed as traitors against their NEW MAJESTIES; the King will have no means left to protect his most faithful subjects; and the Crown may find itself without a defender.

“ This, This attempt of theirs is the great master-treason against the Crown, the Nobility, and the whole Commons of the realm.

“ In order the more efficaciously to resist these traitors to us all, these *un-acquitted* felons; or to lay down my life usefully to the public in opposition to their plunder and tyranny; I *again* offer myself to represent you in the ensuing Parliament.

“ If the purpose of your election were to chuse a master, or to promote a minister, or to bestow any portion of power or emolument on the object of your choice, I should acknowledge myself to be the last person

son who ought to present himself to your notice. But if your purpose be to appoint a servant, whose duty it is to pursue *your* interest, not his own; to maintain *your* rights, not to obtain an office for himself; to follow singly *your* will, independently of all parties and all other connexions; I may then with confidence offer myself, and say, that in me *you* shall, if you please, find

A Faithful Servant.

JOHN HORNE TOOKE."

To the Worthy and Independent ELECTORS of the
CITY and LIBERTIES of WESTMINSTER.

"GENTLEMEN,

"CONSCIOUS of having faithfully discharged the important trust which, during the period of sixteen years and three successive Parliaments, you have so honorably reposed in me, and animated by the grateful remembrance of the candour, or rather the partiality, with which you have hitherto received my feeble efforts in the public service, I venture once more to offer myself with some degree of confidence, as a Candidate for the representation of this great and populous City.

"So totally unconnected with any other Candidate as to be enabled, from public rumour, only to guess, who, besides myself, is likely to solicit your suffrages, my sole pretensions to your favour rest entirely upon the uniformity with which I have adhered to the principles of that conduct which first recommended me to your notice. The part which I have taken in the various important questions agitated in the late Parliament is too well known and understood by you to need explanation, much less apology.

"That I have opposed a War, unjust in its principle and ruinous in its consequences; that I have endeavoured to prevent innovations upon the Constitution which tend

to annihilate the Rights of the People ; that I have laboured to preserve intire the Security which we formerly enjoyed under the Law of Treason, as established by the Statute of EDWARD the Third ; that I have resisted the REPEAL OF THE BILL OF RIGHTS in its most essential Clauses, will be matter of Consolation to me to the last moment of my Life.

“ That my efforts in this glorious cause have, in common with those of abler men, been ineffectual, I most sincerely lament ; but I trust my character (whatever it may be) will not suffer either in your judgment, or in that of posterity, on account of my name being seldom, if ever, found among the majorities of *a Parliament remarkable for having added more to the burthens, and taken away more from the rights of the subject*, than any Parliament ever did in the annals of our history.

“ I have the honour to be, with every sentiment of regard and gratitude,

Gentlemen, your most obliged,

*South-Street,
May 21, 1796.*

and faithful humble Servant,

C. J. FOX.”

To the Worthy and Independent ELECTORS of the
CITY and LIBERTY of WESTMINSTER.

“ GENTLEMEN,

“ SEVERAL respectable Inhabitants of the City of Westminster having expressed their desire that I should offer my services to succeed Admiral Lord Hood as one of your Representatives in Parliament, I find it impossible not to acquiesce in a wish so highly gratifying and honorable to myself.

“ I therefore presume to solicit your favor and support, to which I am conscious that I have no pretensions but an ardent zeal in the service of my King and Country, a steady attachment to our excellent and happy Constitution, and a determination to counteract in the
utmost

utmost of my power, the attempts of its enemies, whether foreign or domestic.

“ If you should be pleased to confer upon me a distinction which cannot but be highly acceptable to the feelings of a British Officer, I shall hope to merit a continuance of your good opinion and confidence by a line of public conduct strictly conformable to the principles which I have avowed, and by an invariable attention to your own immediate interests and welfare.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Portland-Place,
May 20, 1796.

GENTLEMEN,

Your most obedient and faithful humble Servant,

ALAN GARDNER.”

To the Worthy and Respectable FREEMEN of the
Borough of PLYMOUTH*.

“ GENTLEMEN,

“ I THINK it incumbent upon me to *inform you*, that in consequence of circumstances which have lately occurred, it is not my intention to solicit the honor of becoming one of your Representatives in the next Parliament. Many respectable Inhabitants of the City of Westminster expressed their desire, that I should offer my services to succeed Lord Hood as a Representative of that City; I think it impossible for me not to acquiesce in a wish so highly honorable to myself, and I have only to hope, *that this conduct on my part will not be deemed disrespectful to the Worthy Electors of Plymouth*, who have strong claims upon my gratitude and esteem, to whom I shall rejoice at all times to pay every attention, and to render every service in my power.

I have the honor to be, Gentlemen,

Your truly obliged and faithful humble servant,

Portland-Place,
May 20, 1796.

A. GARDNER.”

* This advertisement was necessary to be inserted in this place to ~~show~~ how the Burgesses of Plymouth had lost the gallant Admiral's Affections—and how the Electors of Westminster had gained it.

May 28, 1796.

THIS Day, a little before eleven the three Candidates appeared on the Hustings. Mr Fox was put in nomination by Mr. Scott ; Sir Alan Gardner by Sir R. Turton, in a long speech ; and Mr. Horne Tooke, by Mr. Vaughan, who said, that as the Hon. Baronet had spoken enough for all the three Candidates, he would not detain the Electors one minute. The Election immediately began and on the close of the Poll for that Day, the Numbers were declared to be

For Mr. Fox	-	-	-	232
Mr. Tooke	-	-	-	132
Admiral Gardner	-	-	-	129

The Candidates then came forward to address the Electors ;

Mr. F O X

(Who was received with loud acclamations) “Returned Thanks for the Honour they had done him, as testified by the respectable majority in his favor this day, on which he congratulated those who voted for him, and congratulated himself. He observed on the two Bills which were passed the last Session of the last Parliament, and on the principles maintained by Ministers in support of these Bills. They had shewn an inclination to prevent all popular meetings, but they had not yet dared to attempt that of preventing the people of Westminster to meet to vote for their Representatives. In speaking for himself he would alledge, that he had been often personally gratified by the favorable opinion which the Electors of Westminster had testified of him ; in doing so he would venture to say this, that they favored a man who had shewn his attachment to the Constitution of this Country, who loved that Constitution ; but when he said he loved it, he must say also it was the Constitution

tion of 1688 he loved; and in proportion as he loved that Constitution, did he detest the innovations that had been made upon it, and particularly the innovations in 1796.—The true Constitution of Great Britain was made for the freedom of the people, not for the detestable purpose of supporting the will of the Executive Government against the people. The fundamental principle of the Constitution of Great Britain was, that every man in it should have an opportunity of freely delivering his opinion. A Constitution which allowed not that privilege was the mere name of a thing, and was worth nothing, and that was the sort of Constitution which Ministers would force upon the people, and which they would misname as the Constitution of Great Britain. These were the sentiments on which he submitted himself to the Electors of Westminster in the year 1780. We were then engaged in an unfortunate War. In 1796 we were in the same situation. The cause of the American War was the lamentable subserviency of the people to the will of the Crown, and therefore it was carried on. This was the cause of the War in 1780. This was the cause of the War in 1796, and the people should reflect on this.

“ He had been asked, whether he joined either of the Candidates before them? To which he would answer, he joined no Candidate whatever; he asked the support of the Electors for himself. He asked them to judge of him, and enquire of themselves whether he was a fit object of their choice? On the present occasion he had a respect for both his competitors. The one, a gallant Admiral who had done service to his Country, and had merited Esteem and Honor. The other, a Gentleman who had been the object of the unjust and cruel persecution of the Minister, and on that account as well as others, had a claim on the feelings of his Fellow Citizens. But he did not think it his duty to canvass for either of them. He canvassed for himself only; and he did so on this ground, that he had served the people of this

this country with fidelity, with zeal, with constancy ; against the Government, the pretended good Government of the Country ; but which in fact employed its means to carry on the purposes of corruption. The present was not a place to discuss all the points on which that corruption had influence. But there were two points to which he must advert—the War, and the situation of this country. We were engaged in a foreign War. The purpose of that War was, the enslaving another people, and restoring that Government, the power and aim of which had always been hostilely directed against the interests of this country. With regard to our domestic politics, the power of Government had been exerted to the worst of purposes—to adhere, indeed, to the letter, but to destroy the spirit of our Constitution. The object of the Ministers in this War was, to support the system of foreign despots, and to teach us, if they can, to be the tame servants of domestic despots. These were the sentiments to which he called the attention of the people in 1780. These were the sentiments to which he called their attention now. These were the principles in which he had lived, and for which he trusted, if occasion should require it, he should die. The Electors would readily conceive there was no necessity for him to remind them that it was not his practice to make use of any language to gain temporary popularity. He needed no such subterfuge, nor would he use it even to gain his Election, if such artifice were necessary ; for that would be paying too high a price for the highest favour. *You see in me then, a friend to order, a friend to peace, and a friend to good government ; but I will not dissemble, for I will say at once, that, constituted as things are at this moment, there is much more danger in aiding the views of despotism than any thing that is likely to arise from the excess of popular power. I will never recede from my sentiments ; I will stand, while I live, in defence of the Rights of the People, and for them I will die, if necessary. Government was made for the People*
—not

—not the People for Government—That Government is good, in proportion as it promotes the happiness, and bad, as it occasions the misery of the People.”

Admiral GARDNER

Addressed them in a short speech, “ And declared that he professed an attachment to his King and Country, and to the principles of the Constitution ; that his principles were too well known to need an explanation. His cause was now in the hands of the Electors of Westminster. He relied on their support, and thanked them for the honor they had done him this day.

Mr. HORNE TOOKE

Said, “ That he concurred in every thing which Mr. Fox had said, and that he would by no means have stood a Candidate for any place, if it had been to the exposure of the seat which Mr. Fox had held in the House of Commons : But it was for the Inhabitants of Westminster to consider whether it was worth their while to assemble together to elect two Representatives, one of whom should destroy the other. The gallant Admiral, who was a stranger to the Electors of Westminster, though in one respect he was sufficiently known, had made use of one phrase in his advertisement, namely, *domestic enemies*. This phrase he thought called for some explanation, and this explanation Mr. Fox had given in his advertisement, when he described the last Parliament, as one that had taken more *from* the liberties, and added more *to* the burthens of the People of England, than any former parliament that had ever existed. *One would suppose that we had all written in concert, for I have described the authors of all the mischief to be the usurping proprietors of Boroughs.*” He then alluded to Mr. Fox’s declaration, respecting the two wars against liberty that had taken place during the present reign. “ For his opposition to the American, he said that he had been sentenced to a fine of 1200*l.* and to a twelvemonth’s imprisonment. For the part which he had taken with respect to the present war against the liberty of France, he had undergone

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a close

a close imprisonment of seven months, and had been compelled to hold up his hand as a traitor at the Old Bailey. He then adverted to some late proceedings in the Courts of Justice, particularly to the sentence against Kydd Wake, a sentence which (he said) was only fit for the Judges of Hell to pronounce*.

“ The meaning of this sentence, perhaps, the greater number of his auditors might not understand ; he was to be kept to hard labour for five years ; by kept, every lawyer would understand, flogged—that is to say, he was liable to be flogged every day during these five years by a gaoler employed for the purpose. Of such a sentence he was sure that the humanity of the gallant Admiral would never allow him to approve ; he was sure, at least, that nothing less than a pension could operate as a sufficient inducement to extort his approbation to such a proceeding. He then expressed his decided approbation of the public principles avowed by Mr. Fox ; and of that line of conduct which he had held ; that he, however, could add nothing to what had already been said by Mr. Fox, no language but his own could do justice to his sentiments. He paid many compliments to the private worth and personal courage of Admiral Gardner. He considered him as compelled to stand in his present awkward situation by the fiat of a superior power. He trusted Ministers would be satisfied with the merit he had shown in having stood the intolerable battery to which he was now exposed, and that the personal courage of the gallant Admiral would be sufficiently gratified in having encountered the brunt of the contest, and having been rejected. *We will guard ourselves against our domestic enemies, and we will leave to the gallant Admiral to reap*

* Alluding to the sentence of KYDD WAKE (a journeyman Printer) who had been convicted of hooting, hissing, *making wry faces*, &c. at the KING, in going to or from the Parliament House : the sentence was, “ That the Defendant be imprisoned “ in his Majesty’s Jail or House of Correction at Gloucester for the space of FIVE “ YEARS, and be kept that time to HARD LABOUR : that within the first three “ months of that period he do stand in and upon the PILLORY for one hour, between the hours of Eleven and Three on a Market-day, in a public street in “ Gloucester ; and at the end of the term of FIVE YEARS he do give security in the “ sum of ONE THOUSAND POUNDS for his good behaviour for TEN YEARS, to commence at the expiration of the Five Years : and further, that he be imprisoned “ until such security be found.”

those laurels against our enemies abroad, which I am sure he will always merit by his professional exertions.

At the close of the Poll for the Second Day's Election, the numbers were—

For Mr. Fox	-	-	-	480
Admiral Gardner	-	-	-	372
Mr. Tooke	-	-	-	258

Mr. F O X

Thanked the Electors; and merely added, "That he regarded the polling of the day as a fresh testimony of the Electors approving his past services."

Admiral G A R D N E R

Then endeavoured to address the Electors; but the uproar was so great we could not hear a word he said.

Mr. T O O K E

Addressed the Electors in a very diverting manner; and observed, "That, if a man was to fasten two horses to a cart, the one to the head the other to the tail of it, and should then attempt to drive them to some particular place at a distance, their heads being in different directions, they would draw one against another: a man who acted in that manner would not be very likely to arrive soon at the end of his journey. Such would be the case of the Electors if they returned Mr. Fox and Admiral Gardner; for, certain it was, they would pull in opposite directions. He said, he never would be of any party; for in party matters a man's honor might be committed, and every man's honor ought to be in his own keeping. Should he be elected, his own conscience and the instructions, the orders, and the commands of his Constituents should always be, and should only be,

the guiders, directors, and controlers of his own conduct. However, he thought it proper to say, he did not differ from Mr. Fox in the sentiments which he had declared to the Electors already. He should be glad to have the advantage of the assistance of his transcendent abilities.—This was an advantage which a Ministerial Candidate never would ask, or, if he should ask, was not likely to have, but an advantage which Mr. Fox most probably would but seldom deny to an opposition Member.

“ The contest, he said, as far as it had gone, had been of very great advantage to him, for it had shewn that Mr. Pitt was still his enemy, that there was no man whom he hated more. From the time Mr. Pitt was made the *Dictator* of this country, not by the *People*, but by the *pretorian bands*, by means which we all knew, by Contracts, by Places, by Pensions, and by Bribes, it certainly was an advantage to an honest man to be marked as his enemy ; although many were desirous to be thought his friends, and had received these Pensions and Bribes for services that deserved a *halter*.

“ The course of the poll had shewn, and would continue to shew, that he was the most hated by Mr. Pitt, and possibly most feared by him. This was his advantage. The advantage to the Electors was, that they shewed, by polling for him, their independence. But a much more important advantage might arise from this election. The electors might teach to the present and to future Courts a lesson that they may discharge all means of bribery or corruption, all indirect practices from their system of government, and trust only to their own just power ; for they must draw this conclusion, that if the people submit to Government now, great indeed would their gratitude be if they found that the only objects which the Court had in view were the liberty, prosperity and happiness of the people.”

At the close of the Poll for the Third Day's Election, the numbers were—

For Mr. Fox	-	-	-	769
Admiral Gardner	-	-	-	718
Mr. Tooke	-	-	-	559

Mr. F O X

Addressed the Electors very concisely. “He did not consider the event of this day's poll as any thing unfavorable to his cause; but he hoped that this would be the last day in which the state of the poll should be against him. On the general principles which he had professed already, he had nothing new to state; they all knew the grounds on which he solicited the suffrages of the Electors of Westminster, and he hoped and trusted he should always justify the partiality which they had so often shewn to him on former occasions.”

Admiral G A R D N E R

Endeavoured to address the Electors, but could not obtain a hearing.

Mr. T O O K E.

“Your Candidate, Admiral Gardner, has told you in his advertisement, and every day that he has stood before you, that he is a friend to his King and to his Country. It is necessary for me also, by the state of the poll, to say that I love the King according to law; but I love my Country better; for the King may be employed in chasing the harmless stag, or the timorous hare, while his Ministers may be employed in the more desperate chase of running down his people. I say I love the King according to law, and whenever the King shall protect me and my fellow subjects from the murderous plots and conspiracies of his Ministers, I will love him beyond the law.

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“ The gallant Admiral has told you he has two loves, and he seems to have made a very prudent choice, and to be a very thrifty wooer—For the love of his country he has obtained, and deservedly obtained, the rank, honour, and emoluments of his profession.—He is an Admiral and a Baronet. For his love to his King, the Minister has appointed him to the Admiralty Board, with a salary, as I take it, of *twelve hundred a year*.” [Here somebody contradicted him.]

“ If I have caused a mistake, or have been mistaken, let me rectify as I go. The Admiral has been delivered of his second love, and this intelligence can neither hurt me nor him, for he would not be the first Admiral who after being divorced married his Lady again. Although unfortunate in his first amour, would you not be surprised to be told that the Admiral has fallen in love again?—He has fallen in love with a widow, who, in her weeds for her last husband, has obtained a British Peerage for her portion. But is there any thing extraordinary that a Baronet (a little Baron) should wish to be a great one, a title too often disposed of at the dissolution of a Parliament—for myself I cannot help considering it as something like Political adultery—for myself, I say, I should think it as much honor to be called a *Cuckold* as to be called a Lord.

“ The worthy Admiral says he wishes to protect us from our foreign and domestic enemies. In this he must be sincere, because he has said it; and I do not mean to say or hint any thing to the contrary. I have an interest in the sincerity of it, for that will speedily determine the contest in which this country is engaged. The expence of corruption necessary to obtain a majority of votes on the beginning of a war, and the expence of corruption in the continuance of a war, are many times greater than would be sufficient to carry on a defensive war against all the world. It is not possible for this country, for any length of time, under the double expence of war and corruption, to carry on a contest against a nation which has cast off corruption. If the country

country with which we are at war has cast off corruption. If this be the chief cause of her success, surely then the casting off of corruption would be of more advantage to this country than the efforts, however great, of any single Admiral in the world, or of all the Admirals in this country together.

“ Thus then, I have shewed to the Admiral, and to you and to the public (unless he or any other man can contradict the statement) how the Admiral can protect us from all our foes, and that is, by bringing to justice our domestic enemies, and by destroying that corruption which prevents our success. I think I have pointed out to the Admiral his duty.—I think I shall be able to prove that the practice of Ministers in the course of this election (as I am persuaded myself) are such that the Admiral will not suffer his name to be joined to them, for I cannot think that he will suffer his name to be joined to those who are destroying this country, both at home and abroad ; then will the Admiral’s name go down to posterity,” [Here he was interrupted] He proceeded, “ I mean to say enough, and not too much.—The difficulty with me is not to bring out words, but to stop them—I am sorry I have detained you so long ; but I trust I have made that impression on the Admiral, which will make him retire from this contest.”

At the close of the Poll for the Fourth Day’s Election, the numbers were—

For Mr. Fox	-	-	1121
Admiral Gardner	-	-	1010
Mr. Tooke	-	-	893

Mr. F O X.

“ Perseverance in a good cause is the sure way of gaining and continuing to have persevering Friends. I have had the good fortune to be favoured by you many times,

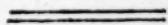
times, and in different situations :—you have never deserted me in any ; and, therefore I should be the basest of mankind, if any thing whatever should induce me to desert you.”

MR. T O O K E.

“ I was interrupted, from a mistake I made yesterday, in addressing you—a mistake which I fell into by not having studied the *Red Book*. I did not know that the worthy Admiral does not *now* possess a place at the Admiralty Board : I was, therefore, interrupted when I alluded to it. I confess my insufficiency in the study of the *Red Book* ; and, when I use his name, I shall always be liable to the same mistake ; for they shift their names and their titles so frequently it is impossible to know by what name they choose to be called :—it is *Lord HAWKESBURY* to-day—it is the *Earl of LIVERPOOL* to-morrow ! But, in consequence of the correction I met with yesterday, I did apply to the study of the *Red Book* ; and there I found that Admiral Gardner has a very snug *Sinecure*. If it was an advantage to him to deny before you that he has a Place at the Admiralty Board, what advantage can it be to him to say he his Major General of Marines ? The other Gentleman, who corrected what I said, and alledged, that the Admiral had held the place I mentioned, but that he has since quitted it—himself holds a place at *St. Kitt's* which produces about *sixteen hundred pounds* a year. However, they will both forgive me for my mistake ; especially when I say “ *I never did receive, and never will receive, from the present or any future King—from the present or any future Administration, directly by himself, or indirectly by others, the benefit of one farthing.*”

“ Having settled that account, I will beg leave to take notice to you of a conversation that passed among the friends of the Ministerial Candidate, and of what is stated in the Ministerial Newspapers of this day.—It has been mentioned as a subject of reproach, that there was a Coalition between Mr. Fox and myself, I mention this, because

because it is of some consequence to direct the voices of the Electors of Westminster in the continuance of this Poll. They talk of a Coalition; they have shewn they fear and dread it; they must see, that if all who have voted for Mr. Fox had also voted for me, or all who have voted for me had also voted for Mr. Fox, the Ministerial Candidate must have backed his topfail. But, if you will give me leave, I will tell you the cause of Ministerial fear:—they seek to make it appear that the Public Opinion is weaker than it really is, and that Administration is stronger than it really is. The Public who have not consulted the Poll at this Election, do not know what a decided opinion of a respectable part of that Public has been already given against the present detestable Administration.—I wish that the Poll of this day may be an example of all succeeding days. Mr. Fox is at the head of the Poll—I am glad of it; I am second on this day's Poll. I think I have polled between 40 and 50 this day more than the Admiral. Now I have ventured to say this to you, fearful of no reproach of Coalition.—My character is well known to be untractable. I hope, however, I shall always be found tractable to reason and sound argument; but I do acknowledge, that, on all great public questions, neither friends nor foes, neither life nor death, neither thunder nor lightning, shall make me give way, or to fight with one hand”



At the close of the Poll for the Fifth Day's Election, the numbers were:—

For Admiral Gardner	-	1750
Mr. Fox	- -	1616
Mr. Tooke	-	1192

Mr. F O X.

“ Notwithstanding the Poll is not in my favour to day, I have no fear of ultimate success. The circumstance of the First of June has, I presume, been
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the cause that the Admiral has headed me between 200 and 300 votes, I think it necessary to say that reports that I have joined either of the other two respectable Gentlemen are wholly unfounded. I declared to you at the commencement of this Election, that I stood before you wholly unconnected with any other Candidate. I consider that declaration of mine in the nature of an engagement. Having therefore made that engagement, it shall not be a question with me whether that engagement was a prudent one or not for me ; you shall always find me liberally and constantly adhering to it. When I say this, I mean it in a literal sense. I ask your votes for me only. I have not by myself, nor by others, asked any one Elector to join my name to any other Candidate for whom such Elector had an inclination to poll. I am, however, equally obliged to those Electors who join my name to any other Candidate for whom they poll.

“ Having said this, I will add, that I am glad I have no reason to doubt that you approve of my former conduct in Parliament, and that the recollection of it is not less agreeable to you now than it has been on former occasions, although I am not at the head of the poll this day ; but if you look at the poll books, you will find that the success of the Court Candidate has come from the same quarter as it has done on former occasions ; and every man interested in that quarter has given his single vote, as if the Election actually depended upon it. I am, as I said before, entirely neutral as to the other Candidates ; but I have been told that there would be no difficulty in my being at the head of the poll at this moment, if I had not expressed my sentiments as not agreeable to you with regard to the other Candidates. That I should have any necessity of explaining myself to you, I own mortifies me. What ! am I then, after all so little known to you ? Am I in a situation that should make it my interest to conceal my sentiments from you, or from the world at large ? And that at a time too when the sentiments of all men should be known

known. My sentiments are now what they have been, and often expressed—That the present Government supports itself by corruption—My opinion is, that the encroachments made on the Rights of the People for a series of years, but most of all by the two Bills which passed last Session of Parliament, have destroyed the essential and the vital parts of the Constitution of this country. My opinion continues to be, that Ministers have engaged in a war which has occasioned all the distresses you have lately suffered—and that a great deal more which you will suffer will lie at the door of those who engaged you to carry on this accursed war. It remains for you, in this Election, by the situation which you may give to me, to say what sense you have of that war. It remains for you by this Election, to shew whether I am now less esteemed by you than on former occasions, on account of the opposition which I have to that war which I behold in the same light as I have always beheld it. When I consider the state of this Election, I am led to say you are more interested in it than myself in respect to the numbers on the poll. If it should appear I have a less number than another, it will be interpreted by those who know pretty well, and who are always ready to interpret every thing they can into their own favour, and to their own advantage, that the sense of the City of Westminster is against those who have supported me. That indeed would mortify me; but indeed I cannot help thinking it would be still more injurious to you than to me.”

Mr. T O O K E*.

“ There is a great majority on the poll against me this day. Sir Alan Gardner, my opponent, does not speak for himself, and therefore I will say a few words

* As the clamour of the populace in the Front and the back part of the Hustings was very great, both for and against him; those in the front wishing to hear him, those on the Hustings endeavouring to prevent his being heard, it was not without great attention and difficulty we were able to obtain the substance with any degree of accuracy.

for him. I have great interest in doing it. I should be extremely gratified, however, if you should hear Sir Alan Gardner at all times speak against himself. I perceive it is fit I should speak of myself, in consequence of the state of the poll ; I have never entered into any engagement upon political subjects, except that which I entered into very soon after I was born, which was to oppose oppression. I shall not be neutral in this contest, although I have never told any Elector how he should vote at this Election, except what I have said from this place. But now I do say to every man who wishes to poll for me that I do wish and beg of him to poll also for Mr. Fox, for I have found it impossible for me to be neutral between Mr. Fox and Sir Alan Gardner ; if I had been so, the words of Mr. Fox this day would have prevented me from continuing in that neutrality ; for Mr. Fox has said, that the present Administration is corrupt, and that the two Bills to which he has alluded, have cut up our Constitution by the roots. How then can I be neutral, thinking as I do of these Bills, especially when I know that the Ministerial Candidate has uniformly given his support to that corruption and to these Bills.

“ I do not blame gentlemen who differ from me, but I must follow the dictates of my own mind ; I have been of a different way of thinking from Mr. Fox on many occasions, and therefore opposed him. The Ministerial Candidate has made a great poll to-day, and if there was any adversity in that, it would not be to me so bitter as to others, because adversity has been the chief food of my life. I count it nothing. The chief object of my wishes will be gained by this Election. A seat in Parliament is not the main object of my wish—however, notwithstanding this day's poll, I believe that seat will be obtained. I have been asked by some of my friends, and those of the best friends to the public cause, how can I succeed in this cause against Ministers, who have squandered so many millions of the public money on the Emperor, the King of Sardinia, Brunswick, Hanover, and

and the rest of the confederates, for enslaving mankind? I have been also asked, will not those who spent 100,000l. in the late prosecution, who imprisoned two innocent men, merely to ruin me, spend 200,000l. if necessary, to keep me out of parliament? these questions appear to me to be reasonable and not ill founded. But this does not dismay me—let it not dismay you—the millions which they have already squandered on despots, in this crusade of despotism, have left this country never to return. The many millions more which they will add, will be extorted from us, for they will be wanted for this very purpose. Now consider the views and situation of these profuse and profligate Ministers, the friends of the Court Candidate, who is at the head of the Poll to-day. They are in arrears of every kind, they are indebted to every person who has been employed by them. They are in debt to the person who now stands before you on my left hand; the constable who took me into custody; an honest good man—he attended the first day of the Poll, at this Election, and gave me a single vote. Sir Alan Gardner wishes to hear the sequel of this—I will give it to him. This constable complains that Dundas, who gave him that illegal and infamous warrant, for which he must some day be brought to justice; he complains that the secretary of State, who by his own authority, and contrary to law, sent him to take me up, and put in a dungeon a better man than himself, has never paid him for his trouble. He complains that Ministers now owe him near 300l.

“ I have desired you not to be dismayed from the state of the poll—nor should you be dismayed. Ministers have undermined themselves by the expence which has attended their attempts to entail slavery on all Europe, while they endeavour to establish it at home. So that now if the wealth of every individual in this country should be drained and used in their cause, it would be miserably insufficient to answer their purpose. This is tolerably plain to those who examine their resources. I will tell, as shortly as I can, my reason for this, and
after-

afterwards my reason for telling it. A few days ago an Act of Parliament was passed for preventing the misapplication of the public money. The receipts of the Exchequer were ordered to be carried to the Bank (I speak in the hearing of those who know I tell the truth) and the different sums afterwards drawn from the Bank, appears to be safe for the public, wise and good—but no law can be safe for the public, unless the people are fairly represented in parliament. Now I will tell you how the matter stands:—A certain board is established to superintend the issuing of this money out of the Bank. Ministers when they want money for election purposes, apply to the Commissioners of that Board. They draw bills for certain purposes of a public nature, these Commissioners order these bills for payment, and when these bills come to be laid before the House of Commons they all appear to be fair because they are so in their title—but in fact the Minister's confidential agent receives the money, and he confidentially employs it in bribery to carry an election. Now for the reason why I have told you this : I have told it for three reasons—first, to shew you what a trifling and ridiculous triumph it is for you to have a good Law unless you have a good House of Commons, which will take care that the Minister shall not evade that law ; secondly, if you return me as your Representative I will not only take care that law shall not be evaded, but I will certainly bring to justice the person who has offended that law. Now, for the last reason (and I am sorry to have kept you so long) it is this—I hope by what I have said I have made the contractors themselves satisfied, although they are compelled to vote against me, and appear on the Ministerial side ; they are interested in my success, for should I be returned, their money will be paid into their hands as soon as it is ordered for payment.”

At

At the close of the Poll for the Sixth Day's Election, the numbers were :—

For Admiral Gardner	-	2116
Mr. Fox	- -	1978
Mr. Tooke	- -	1377

Mr. F O X

“ Took notice of the friendly declaration which was made in his behalf yesterday by Mr. Tooke, for which he thanked him. He had been informed that the Friends of Sir Alan Gardner had, many of them, canvassed for that gallant Admiral, and particularly desired that their friends should not poll for him. He was not at liberty to solicit any person to poll for any person but himself. He considered himself as having, by his advertisement and address to the Electors, pledged himself to that effect; but he could not help saying, that with respect to one of the other Candidates who stood before them, he was obliged to him for his friendly declaration; to the other he certainly owed no obligation; all he begged of the Electors was to continue their exertions in his favor, for no other person did he solicit. He had experienced too many proofs of the affection of the Electors towards him to have any doubts of success on the present contest. He had too deep a sense of the obligations which they had conferred on him to alter his determination to defend their interests.”

Admiral G A R D N E R

Said, “ That neither himself, nor any of his friends, to his knowledge, had desired those who should vote for him, not to vote for Mr. Fox. He hoped that the Electors would continue to give him support, as they had done already. He relied on their exertions, and had no doubt of success.”

Mr.

Mr. T O O K E.

“ It is not my intention to trouble you with a reference to the number on the poll ; but I must beg of you to be not at all alarmed, notwithstanding the state of that poll. There has not been already polled more than 3000 Electors ; there remain to be polled above 10,000. I beg of you at the same time to consider the difference between the Voters for the Ministerial Candidate, and the voters for myself ; the voters for the Ministerial Candidate are all disciplined troops : On our side they are as independent as to the time in which they chuse to come up to poll, as they are in the motives on which they give their Votes. I hope you will consider besides, that placemen, pensioners, and contractors, are struggling hard for their profits in the course of this election ; that the Ministers are also struggling for their own forfeited lives ; their eagerness therefore will not surprise you upon this occasion, and these points will account for the alertness with which the poll has been conducted on the part of the Ministerial Candidate. However I do not doubt that Mr. Fox and myself will be successful on the state of the poll at this election ; but if that should be otherwise, if the very worst should happen, let this be at least our comfort, that in the event of our not having complete success in this contest, Ministers will not have an entire pardon for their crimes, they will but barely have a reprieve.”

“ You surely must see that in the course of the poll at this election, Mr. Fox and myself have had a manifest disadvantage to contend with ; a disadvantage which your justice and your kindness has this day began to remove, and which, I hope for the rest of the poll you will continue to remove. The disadvantage I mean arises from mistake, from lessening the value of what is said from this place. We are all of us liable to mistake ourselves while we speak to you—you, yourselves will pardon me, may misconceive the drift of what we say. That is not all—We are liable to a misrepresentation of our words, which our adversaries are diligent in circulating.

lating:—This day you have begun to do what I hope you will always do, and what will stop a good deal the effect of that misrepresentation—I mean your hearing the worthy Admiral himself. I beg leave to mention two misrepresentations, or rather misapprehensions, of what I said to you yesterday. I said it would gratify me, that it would give me pleasure if you would permit the worthy Admiral to speak against himself. In that I have certainly been misrepresented—I meant barely and fairly this—that in order to defend himself the worthy Admiral must defend the Minister by whom he is supported, and to whom he must henceforward give support; and I suppose that the Admiral's defence of the Minister must be a condemnation of himself, and that is the reason why I told you yesterday, I should wish you to hear the Admiral speak against himself. I have but one circumstance to state to you, the thought of it brings to mind such impressions that I hardly know how to speak upon it at this moment. I applied a very gross epithet (scoundrel) in a very particular manner, to a particular person, yesterday in my address to you; and I think that without any explanation upon that subject, I should hardly be justified in departing from a decent company of men; that explanation I will give to you, and I flatter myself that not only you, but also the Candidate adverse to me, and all his friends and adherents, if they hear me patiently, will go away satisfied with me this day. I shall have no occasion for reason or for argument in what I have now to say, I shall only state simple facts. I will not bring back to your memory that I have been kept in close custody for seven months—I have no need to tell you that I have held up my hand as a traitor at the Old Bailey—I need not tell you that I was excluded during that time from all connection and correspondence with my friends, and from my family—all these things you know; and the infamy of the prosecution you may see in detail, if you choose to read the account of it—but what I am going to tell you, you are not acquainted with: My condition Dundas knew very well; I was his

next door neighbour ; he knew what was the situation of my family—it consists of myself and two young women, my children—he took me away from my children—he is a father—he took me away from my children—he put me in close custody—he put into my house four common thief-takers—they remained for 12 days and 12 nights in the possession of my house and of my children, while I was in close confinement—the thought of it almost overpowers me while I speak to you—look at the refinement of the malice—it was not enough for this man to aim at sticking my head upon a pole, and to quarter my body—it was not enough for him to take possession of my house and to ransack it—it was not enough for him to put four common thief-takers into possession of it while I was in a dungeon—it was not enough for him to turn my children beggarly and naked to the world—no ! all this would not do for him, unless he could contrive a method by which they should also be dishonored !! —Aye ! Aye ! these are the friends which the Admiral has to support upon this Election, for these are the persons on whose interest he relies for success ! But I must do justice to the character of one person in administration, who felt the hardship of my family in this situation. He acquainted a lady who knew me and my family of this case, she generously felt it, and that lady and her daughter placed themselves in the same situation of my children, and saved my family from dishonor. Now, I appeal to all you that hear me, who are men—I appeal to all you who hear me, who are women—I appeal to all you who hear me, who are parents—I appeal to all you who hear me who are children—Nay, I will appeal to the very Admiral himself who opposes me at this Election, and to his friends who hear me—Was I in the wrong to apply the epithet of Scoundrel to Dundas ? Yes, I was ; but then I was only wrong in that epithet, because there was not another epithet in the language strong enough to be applied to him.”

At

At the close of the Poll for the Seventh Day's Election, the number's were :—

For Admiral Gardner	-	2349
Mr. Fox	-	2275
Mr. Tooke	-	1569

Mr. F O X

Mr. Fox then addressed the Electors. "He observed, that when he recollected that near 6000 of them had polled for him upon a former election he entertained no doubt that he should be at the head of the poll in this, and he could not help thinking that the present political state of the City of Westminster, would shew to the people of this country at large, that his Constituents approved as much of his late conduct, as their Representative, as they ever did on any former occasion ; that this, in short was the moment of his life they most approved of him."

Admiral G A R D N E R

"Professed an attachment to his King and the Constitution, which he would endeavour to protect against foreign and domestic enemies. There was a rumour, he said, that there was a coalition between the two other Candidates. He said that if he was returned to Parliament he should oppose Mr. Fox, because he did not like the political principles of that Right Honourable Gentleman. He would tell them why he did not like his political principles. He had been in the House of Commons for some years, and he did not know a vote which the Right Honourable Gentleman had given that was not against the measures of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, good or bad. He could not conclude that the Chancellor of the Exchequer was in the wrong, for if he was he would not be allowed to remain in his situation ; he believed indeed that the Minister was beloved throughout the country. A Gentleman on his left hand had informed them some time ago, that he

(the Admiral) was Major General of the Marines ; he was Major General of Marines, and that office was given to him in the most gracious manner by his sovereign, for the good opinion which his sovereign entertained of him for all his services, and among the rest his services on the 1st of June. His life has been devoted to the service of his country, and that brought him to the rank and station which he now held."

Mr. Fox replied with great animation to the observations of Admiral Gardner. "The Admiral has said that I have made a coalition with the other Candidate ; now after I had solemnly declared upon my honor before you, and in his hearing, the very contrary of this, I think I was intitled to credit as a Gentleman. I think also that the Admiral, when he mentioned the rumour, might have ventured to state his belief of that rumour, for he will not say here, or any where else, that what I have asserted before you is not true—I believe he will not.—I have already told you I solicit your votes for myself only.—He tells you why he dislikes my politics—He dislikes them because I have always opposed the present Minister. But he should point out any measure that I have opposed that was beneficial to this country, before he should make the opposition I have given a charge against me—I have opposed this War ; will the Admiral shew to you the impropriety of that opposition ? Will he shew to you what we have gained by this ?—Will he shew to you what enemies we have defeated, or what Allies we have protected ? The Admiral has laid down a rule to day by which we are to understand, that Mr. Pitt must be in the right, because otherwise he would be out of employment. The Admiral, who I suppose, is a fair man, has made use of an excellent argument, by which you are to learn that he is of opinion, that every Minister is right *because he is Minister*. The Admiral who is a plain speaking man, has given you, in a few words, the Creed of all Courtiers, and the principle which all Ministerial Candidates follow, *That whoever the King appoints must be in the right,*

right, and shall by him, and all men like him, be supported. But as I learnt the Constitution of this country from my youth, to this hour I have always been of opinion that Parliament should be the judge of the propriety of the conduct of the King's Minister's, and that to suppose *all men are right because they have places*, is the doctrine of our new constitution, which I don't subscribe to nor revere. It is the old Constitution of Great Britain that I love. The Admiral's doctrine, *that every man is right because he is in office*, is not to be found in our old Constitution—You know my history;—there is no part of my political conduct of which I repent, and therefore no part of it which I intend to alter."

Mr. T O O K E.

"Before you heard the Admiral, I told you that which you should now consider, that if the Admiral spoke he would speak against himself—You have heard him—and I now ask you, that having heard him, are you not of opinion that he has spoken against himself?—But the Admiral's condemnation upon this election is contained in his own words—He says that Mr. Fox always voted against the measures of the Minister, *good or bad*. Need I draw the consequence?—That the Admiral in speaking for the Minister has spoken against himself, for he owns by his speech that the Minister has brought forward bad measures. The Admiral has altered his address to you since this Election began; he is a week older; he is no longer a *lover*, but a friend; he tells you he is a friend to the King, and a friend to the Constitution; I did not hear him say one word about the people. [*Here there was an uproar of applause from the multitude.*]—He forbears to say any thing about the people. He has likewise said, that he is a friend to the Ministry; and, although he has not said so, I suppose he would wish it to be understood, that he is also a friend to his country; to be a friend to both, at this time,

time, appears to me to be very difficult ; however, it is not absolutely inconsistent in the Admiral, if you take into consideration the time and place in which he says it. He declares himself a friend to the Country on the Hustings, and he may prove himself the friend of the Minister in his vote in the House of Commons. But it appears to me of small consequence to you, whether the Admiral has been the friend of the Minister or not. The question he should have agitated was, whether you would have a friend of the Minister or not ? He should have given some reason to direct the conduct of this poll. In his friendship for the Minister he should adhere to the old proverb—*that you should always praise the bridge that carries you safe over*. You need not be at much trouble to settle the question at whose expence the bridge was built, or who is to keep it in repair. Yet I do beg not to be misunderstood : I do not mean to say, that the late Representative of this city, Lord Hood, or the present Candidate, Sir Alan Gardner, have had, or ever will have, what they deserve for their professional merits. At no one time has it ever happened, or I am afraid it ever will happen, when men should be rewarded as they deserve for naval and military services ; they are the most ungrateful of all services, and in which neither private men nor officers are sufficiently taken care of or rewarded ; but what I complain of, and what the public have reason to complain of is, that Ministers pervert the talents of men in these services, and make use of them as an instrument to destroy the liberty of this country. The Ministers often send men of no character, or men of infamous character [here he was interrupted by a single voice from behind] It was but one voice I heard against me, but if there were a thousand I would say they ought to be heard against me, as well as those who speak against Sir Alan Gardner.

Although the character of the candidate is of no consequence in a venal borough, the character of a Candidate in a popular city like this, where the people have

have some share in the election, is of importance, and therefore Ministers take care to have the best character they can find, who will submit to be so used, to put him up, that the people may be deceived, for the people do not always consider the consequences, but are dazzled by the glare of the character of a man who has distinguished himself on points that have nothing to do with the merits of an election.

“ If a man of common sense was to be addressed in this way by another—*Sir, I have here by my side a most excellent Cook, he has served up for me very good dinners, I recommend him to you for a Hair-dresser*; what, would you think of such a recommendation? Such is the manner in which Ministers insult your understanding by proposing the Admiral for your choice as your Representative in Parliament. If the Admiral should question me about the rigging of a ship, I certainly should make but a scurvy figure. If I was to put the Admiral to question, concerning the rigging of a Constitution, I believe he would not make a much better figure. Gentlemen, what has the Glorious First of June to do with the choice of a Representative in Parliament? And yet the Minister has made that shameful pretence for the influence of corruption, and I have no doubt but you will also have another gallant service of the 4th of June.

“ All sorts of decent respect to the King are certainly proper, but is that the anniversary most dear to Englishmen? is there no other anniversary dear to us? Yes, there is one that is more dear to us than the birth-days of all the Kings who have ever infested, or who have blessed the earth. I mean the birth-day of our liberty, the anniversary of the Revolution of 1688; that Revolution, obtained by our forefathers, was by them expressly intended to guard us against the evils of which we now complain, and against the politics which the Admiral now avows. The Admiral contents himself with telling us that he is a friend to the Ministers, but he did not tell us whether it was for their integrity or their wisdom that he admired them. We all of us feel
their

their integrity in the taxes and the burthens which they have laid upon us, and as to their wisdom, let me give to you an idea and a sample of it. The people were starving for bread; the wise Corporation of the City of London met from day to day to find some relief to the starving people. The Privy Council met, and they requested the corporation to suspend their determination until they (the Privy Council) could find relief. What did this Privy Council say? that they must find a substitute—to Englishmen a substitute for bread!!! if you do not admire the wisdom, admire the impudence of it: observe what would follow---If you had accepted of grass for a substitute—if that had ever become the food of man, there would have been a scarcity of that too, and you would have had to find another substitute. But I say unto you, *put up with no substitute for bread*; never do so: for if ever you do, if once you take less of that article than is necessary---you never will have more.

Admiral Gardner tells you, that if he had as many words at command as the Gentleman on his left hand, he then would do something or other, I know not what. You must know that he has every day expended more words, in contending with me upon the hustings than either Mr. Fox or myself, and more than us both together. The Admiral has a very good voice, when his words are well chosen. If he speaks on a subject which he understands, and is not called upon to speak against his sentiments, no man can speak better than the Admiral; but he is out of his element here; he is not fit to be the tool of the Minister, he has a part to act which does not suit him. I shall trouble you no more at present. I hope you will call on the Admiral for his reply.”—

At the close of the Poll for the Eighth Day's Election, the numbers were :—

For Admiral Gardner	-	2624
Mr. Fox	-	2529
Mr. Tooke	-	1634

Mr. F O X.

“ Sir Alan Gardner heads me upon the poll of this day about five and twenty. The majority for the gallant Admiral over me is so inconsiderable that I can have but little doubt, if it be your wish to mark your approbation of my conduct, that I shall be the first upon the poll. I have ever considered it the first pride of my life to deserve the good opinion of the City of Westminster ; the second is to enjoy that good opinion.”

Admiral G A R D N E R.

“ Mr. Fox has told you I am at the head of the poll, for which I return my acknowledgments to you ; I hope you will continue your exertions in my favour ; and if you do so, I have no doubt but I shall continue in the same honorable situation that I now am.”

Mr. T O O K E.

“ The Admiral has not said any thing this day that I can contradict or reason upon. He says he is at the head of the poll, and that if you continue your exertions in his favour to keep him there, he will continue in that honorable situation—there is no doubt of that, it is very just reasoning. It has been used as a reproach against Mr. Fox, and me, that we are united on the present occasion. I wish that reproach had a better foundation. Mr. Fox and I are certainly of a mind in many things, we shall have but little reason to fear reproach for agreeing in this. In this we agree at least, (I hope in many other things) but certainly in this, that the rubbish of the pre-

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sent Administration must be removed before a foundation can be made of a building which Freemen may inhabit with safety and comfort. If the present Election had been carried with a high hand against the Minister from the commencement of the poll, or if it should be so carried (which it may) at the close of the poll, I have no doubt the present Administration would but barely continue during the interval of framing a new one. I hope you will not at all be disheartened at the state of the poll. I hope, and trust for your honor sake, you will not be dismayed. You will recollect the manner in which Horse Dealers try their cattle. You all know that a sorry Jade will draw when the carriage follows without much resistance; their method of trial is this—they tie their horses to a tree, some of them will draw with spirit and vigour for a little while, but when they find the tree will not follow, they will lay down and no lashes will make them draw any more—these horses are Jades. Other horses will drag and pull, and, although no tree follows, still they will drag and pull until the horse-dealer is satisfied with the bottom of the horse. Gentlemen, we are tied to a tree, we are tied to the tree of corruption, and in this country, from its bulk and its weight, it is indeed enormous. Your noble and disinterested exertions in the course of the present poll, have, I will venture to say, shewn it may be moved. I say, Gentlemen, pull again, pull again, and it will totter; and again, I say, pull once more and it will tumble. May I be permitted to direct your pull—the Electors of Westminster do not want inclination to support that cause of public liberty in which we are engaged, they barely want invitation and solicitation. If every Gentleman who is here this day who wishes for my Election, will be pleased henceforward to exert himself, and each to canvass a single Elector and bring him to poll, the Minister's triumph will be but short, and we shall send the Admiral with glory and his good spirits again to sea."

At

At the close of the Poll for the Ninth Day's Election, the numbers were:—

For Mr. Fox	-	-	2983
Sir Alan Gardner	-	-	2979
Mr. Tooke	-	-	1913

Sir ALAN GARDNER thanked the Electors for their exertions.

Mr. F O X,

After observing that he was at the head of the poll, proceeded: "Gentlemen, it is impossible for me to express my personal gratitude to you for your exertions and your kindness to me, still less is it possible for any expressions of mine to describe the advantages that may result to the country from the declared sense of the city of Westminster—the exertions which you have made, and the unequivocal declaration of your opinion, and all the circumstances which have attended this Election, will, I trust, have the influence which they ought to have on the general opinion of the people of Great Britain. When I see your sense beginning to be manifested as it is, I must cease to despair of seeing the Constitution of this country what it was at the Revolution, for the people can never be enslaved while they are true to themselves; and indeed it is my opinion of the people of this country, that they will be true to themselves. I should have long ceased to doubt of the spirit of the people of this country if they all resembled the Electors of the city of Westminster—if they had, we should not have seen the prolongation of this odious and detestable war—if they had, we should not see Scotch Judges presuming to send men to Botany Bay for political opinion—if they had, we should not see Administration year after year attacking the characters, the liberties, the lives of innocent men, for the mere purpose of gaining credit to pretended plots and

ideal conspiracies. In one word, if the people of Great Britain resembled you, the people of Westminster, we should have a speedy recovery of those liberties which were so gloriously earned by our ancestors, but which the last Parliament basely surrendered."

Mr. T O O K E.

" I have more satisfaction from this day's poll than from all the days that have passed in the course of this Election ; not because I have polled more votes, but because my poll, under all discouragements, continues steady. This poll shews a steady people, and steadiness in the people is of much more consequence than the gaining of any Election. You have this day thrust down the Admiral one step. The Admiral tells me it is a very small step. It appears, therefore, that he does not set much value in being the first in your esteem. I trust you will go on, and give him an opportunity of shewing the excellence of his character by trying how he will bear to be thrust down another step. The Admiral has said nothing to you to-day, but to return you thanks, which he does not in reality mean for you, for the numbers on the Poll are not given to Sir Alan Gardner, they are given to Mr. Pitt, the Minister. The Admiral told you the other day (in what tone you will do well to consider) that he had much rather choose to be returned your Representative, (a mere political situation) that he had much rather be returned with the Right Honourable Gentleman than with the other Candidate ; at the same time he declared that he disliked the politics of the Right Honourable Gentleman. However, he did not add one word of disparagement to the other candidate ; whether he has any reason for rejecting me as a colleague I do not know. I do not think he can shew any. I do not think that those who sent him here can. But if they can, I should be glad to hear it from the Admiral ; and I think, after such a voluntary declaration, he owes it, as his own
justifi-

justification, to you. However, at present I am left to find out the reason of the preference by the expression which the Admiral has used; and I am compelled to suppose, that the reason of that preference is contained in two words—*Right Honourable*; for, with these words the Admiral graced that Gentleman's name. A title before a name, I believe, may very naturally be a motive for a Baronet's preference in the choice of his colleague: but I shall very shortly endeavour to convince you, that it would be a very bad motive for you in the choice of your Representative; and I do it with great satisfaction, because Mr. Fox has a much better and a stronger claim than that of a title for your support—I mean that very Opposition to the Minister which the Baronet dislikes.

If you have ever been at the Parade or at a Review, you must have seen Officers standing gallantly *before* the men, as your Candidates do now before the Hustings, and give the word of command in *front*:---you are egregiously mistaken if you suppose they do the same thing in time of *action*! No, gentlemen, they then give the word of command from *behind*. Now look at the conduct of that enemy, from whom you may learn some useful things, as you have the Telegraph---with them superior merit and bravery lead men to promotions in all services.---Men from the common rank attain the highest commands with them, and are found at the head of their army. You see the never failing consequences of the wisdom of that rule of preferring merit to all other qualities; you see it in the late brilliant victory at Lodi: when the French received a check from the Austrian cannon, six of the French Generals rushed forward, gave the command, and, what was better, gave the example in front, and victory immediately followed.

“ You, gentlemen, the Electors of Westminster, and all the Electors throughout England, will do well to consider, and to ask yourselves these questions: In our present

present cruel struggle between Liberty and Slavery--- who are the persons who are starving for want of bread? To whom do the Ministers propose a substitute for bread? Who are the persons who have been oppressed, beggared, dishonoured, villified, and ruined? Who are the persons who have been languishing and rotting in jail? [Some voice cried out *Horne Tooke*.] It is very true that I have very frequently been in prison, but I had forgotten all these things for the moment, for I was speaking of you. I wish that you would likewise consider who are they who are sentenced to be lashed to death? Who are they that are tortured by the cruelest of all tortures; putrid diseases in prison? Who are they that are sent as felons to Botany Bay? Who are they that are cast into dungeons, and tried as felons? *We, the privates in the rank*. During all this while, where were our political Generals? Where were our Right Honourable and Honourable Representatives? They were *behind*---they were, like other commanders in the hour of battle, safe in the rear, reposing on their beds of Pensions and Privileges! You cannot possibly have the smallest confidence---you cannot reasonably have hopes of any good to be done by an Election unless you pass by Lords and Lordlings, and Baronets, and choose your Representatives from the privates, and among the common rank."

At the close of the Poll for the Tenth Day's Election the numbers were:—

For Mr. Fox	-	-	3332
Admiral Gardner	-	-	3321
Mr. Tooke	-	-	2078

Mr. F O X.

" Gentlemen, it is with great concern I state to you that a very unjustifiable attack has been made upon the carriage

carriage of one of the candidates at this election : all outrages are at all times in the highest degree reprehensible ; but at the time of a popular election, besides the general breach of the law, it is an aggravated immorality by the violation of the freedom of election, which freedom is essential to the general interest of us all. I spoke yesterday and to-day, I speak with satisfaction on the spirit of the city of Westminster ; but I hope and trust, that that spirit will be accompanied with an obedience to the law, and a due regard to good order. You cannot hope to recover you own Rights and your own Liberties, unless you regard and respect the Rights and Liberties of others ; the cause of Liberty itself, sacred as it is, can never be triumphant, unless the world shall see, that those who are attached to it, are attached also to, and are the supporters of, good order. I am sure you all know that I give no support to the gallant Admiral, as a Candidate for the City of Westminster ; but although I do not approve of him as a politician, it becomes me, and it becomes us all, to remember, that he is nevertheless a good private character, and a deserving officer, and therefore ought not to be insulted. But if he was the reverse of this, an outrage upon him would be unjust to him and unjust to you. I am sure you feel as I do upon this subject, and I hope and trust that every man who feels a wish for the happiness of this country, at any time, and especially at this ; that every man who wishes to shew his detestation of the conduct of our administration ; who is eagerly desirous to recover the Rights of the People, will accompany all his efforts to obtain this desirable and good end, with a spirit that shews his love for good order and domestic peace.— Having said this, which appears to me, as I hope it appears to you, to be necessary, I shall now only add, that I return my thanks to those who have made so good a stand for me, and by whom I am placed at the head of the Poll ; that there are yet remaining five days to Poll, and that not more than one half of the Electors
have

have voted yet ; that I desire a continuance of your exertions in my favor, and that to retain your approbation is the first object of my wishes."

Admiral GARDNER.

" Gentlemen, I return you thanks for the support you have given me this day ; I hope you will continue that support to the end of the Poll. As to the treatment which I met with last night, you will excuse me if I have not many words to utter on that occasion. I hope that my character stands fair before you, and that there is not one man here who insulted me last night. I have only to request a continuance of your exertions in my favour, and I have no doubt I shall be returned to Parliament as one of your Representatives."

Mr. TOOKER.

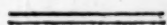
" Gentlemen, it was with great concern I learnt this morning of the insult that was offered to Sir Alan Gardner last night. I am firmly persuaded that that insult was not offered by any person who has stood near these hustings during this Election. If I thought it was, I should scarcely venture to appear before you again, for my object in speaking here has been to inform you, not to inflame you. I am very much pleased that you have listened to the Admiral this day :---it was undoubtedly my determination not to have spoken until you had heard him ; for it appears to me unjust, unfair, and even dishonourable to speak on topics which concern another, where one candidate is not to be heard. To speak against such a man, would be as unmanly as it would be to strike a man whose hands were tied. But since you have heard him, (and as I am persuaded that he will go home this night as quietly as the other candidates,) I will venture to pursue that course of speaking which I have adopted for your information, and which I conditionally did intend to sustain.

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The Admiral can certainly have the means of giving you that information which no other man here can. You have been pleased to take notice that he has solemnly pledged himself to you for two things. He has solemnly pledged himself to vote for an honourable peace; *whenever that honourable peace can be obtained.* The Admiral has pledged himself not to retract (as I dare say he never will; any thing he says he will confirm). He has likewise pledged himself to combat the domestic enemies of the country. Now, Gentlemen, the Admiral told you that he spoke to you as a seaman, and I suppose that means *with the sincerity which is the characteristic of that profession.* I am persuaded he would disdain, not only to make, but to appear to make any promises which may be ambiguous or equivocal, and I shall desire you to give him an opportunity to make it impossible for the bitterest of his enemies to suspect any thing of the kind. An honourable Peace! What is an honourable Peace? By your patience, and by listening to the Admiral silently, you will certainly know; it is necessary you should know. Does the Admiral mean that an indemnification should be obtained by us for all the lives which have been sacrificed, and the millions which have been squandered from this country? Does he mean, as the Minister has said, that we must have an indemnification for all that? I do not mean an indemnification for every farthing paid in subsidies by this country, because undoubtedly there will be a deduction to be made of the *Prussian* subsidy, *for value received*; I mean for protecting of Hanover--- I declare I do not think it would be consistent in us to claim one farthing for that; but is it a necessary condition of an honourable peace, that *despotism* should be re-established in *France*? [*No! no! no! was vociferated from the multitude.*] I beg of you not to forget that that answer I expect from the Admiral, and not you. Does the Admiral think it another necessary condition for an honourable peace, that the Stadtholder should be restored to the despotism which he obtained in *Holland* by the *intrigues* of our Court, and by the

Prussian troops? Does the Admiral think it another necessary condition of an honourable peace, that the *Emperor* should again be empowered to pillage *Brabant* and *Flanders*? I do intreat of you to be patient, for you will have the Admiral's answer to-morrow. Will the Admiral think it another necessary condition of a peace, which he calls honourable, that no European power whatever should possess any colonies but ourselves? Most probably the Admiral will not say these are necessary conditions of an honourable peace, for that these things are not now in the dreams of the Minister himself. Perhaps the Admiral will tell you, and really and truly tell you, that such terms of peace are not attainable from the situation of this country and of Europe. He will tell you, perhaps, that Denmark has acknowledged the French Republic; that Sweden has acknowledged the French Republic; that Venice has acknowledged the French Republic; that Switzerland and Genoa have acknowledged the French Republic; and that America has not only acknowledged the French Republic, but has also united with the French in the closest bonds of friendship. But then he will tell you of our own *valuable* Allies, Tunis, Algiers, and Morocco! The Admiral will probably tell you too, that Prussia has been pretty soundly beaten, and that that sovereign is now only a *defensive* ally, not an *offensive* one: that Spain is now only a *defensive* ally to France, but may soon become an *offensive* one. He will tell you, probably, that the possessions of Sardinia have been conquered by the French, and the King at their feet. He will tell you, that Holland has been conquered by the French, and that the French have secured that Republic. He will tell you, that the French are in possession of the Netherlands, and all the German territories on this side of the Rhine. He will tell you more, that there hangs a blacker cloud over our prospect. He will tell you, that if once, by our great superiority at sea, we convince the French and all Europe---if once we convince the French that they cannot retain a single island

island in the West-Indies, nor a single establishment in the East, the question will be over. He will probably tell you, that, even should it be otherwise, the Ministers of this country have it in their power, and probably have in their will, to make the war a war of *Devastation*; that they will not permit you to have any benefit from what they will not permit others to have a share; that they will destroy all before others shall have any. If he should tell you this, he will tell you nothing but what I believe to be the truth: then probably before he leaves you, he will change the terms of his promise and his pledge: he will then tell you what he means by an honourable peace, and give these reasons which I have hinted at for thinking terms honourable in our present situation, which would have been most base in any other situation in which this country ever was before the present most incapable Minister came into power. I am persuaded the words of the Admiral's promises are his pledges, and that he will pledge himself to you to vote for a speedy and *necessary* peace: here, to-morrow, if I differ from him, he will tell you so: he certainly will tell you what he means by an honourable peace, which he has pledged himself to. If he does not do it in words, his *silence* will explain it all,"



At the close of the Poll for the Eleventh Day's Election, the numbers were:—

For Mr. Fox	-	-	3665
Admiral Gardner	-	-	3605
Mr. Tooke	-	-	2215

Mr. F O X.

" Gentlemen, I hope you will shew by your exertions in my favour, that it is impossible for any friend of the present Minister to maintain, that you approve of a war that beggars you, and of bills that enslave you."

Admiral G A R D N E R.

“ Gentlemen, I return you thanks for your exertions in my favour. I understood the Right Hon. Gentleman to express his confidence, that he will be at the head of the Poll, now I hope I shall be at the head of the Poll to-morrow. When an honourable Peace can be obtained I will vote for it. What I mean by an honourable Peace, is a Peace that this kingdom will not be ashamed of; such a Peace, I hope you will all consent to, and such a Peace I will consent to. Gentlemen, I have no doubt I shall be at the head of the Poll.”

Mr T O O K E.

“ Gentlemen, I have as much private respect for Sir Alan Gardner as I have for any Gentleman with whom I am as little acquainted; and yet, not for his sake, but for yours, I have requested you to hear him patiently, and not to let him go away as much a stranger as he came. Do not let my words be misunderstood. By stranger I only mean that you should be as little acquainted with his political sentiments and principles as you were on the first day he set his foot on the Hustings. By hearing him you have heard something to-day. You have heard a most extraordinary definition which he has given of an *honourable Peace*. It is a peace of which you will not be ashamed. What does he say of a war of which you will not be ashamed? I hope you will press him further about this honourable peace, for at present it stands as little understood as before the explanation. Perhaps the Admiral may have so great an opinion of his friend the Minister, that he is willing to suppose, or at least inclined to suppose, that any peace, or any war may be honourable which that Minister shall approve. I beg you will consider that you ought to be better acquainted with his sentiments, for that you will have no other opportunity for enquiry into your Representative's principles or sentiments for perhaps six or seven years to come. As I take it, the Minister has
chosen

chosen to send Sir Alan Gardner here for two reasons. The first and chief one I suppose to be, that he imagines he may rely on his Vote in the House of Commons; the second reason is, that he is a professional man.

Now, the Minister is very grateful indeed, to those who vote as he would have them; but preferment out of the profession always vacates a Seat in Parliament—professional preferment does not so; and, therefore, he chooses a professional man, to save you the trouble of repeated Elections. I have no doubt that the Minister would, if he could, save you the trouble of any Election at all. However, he takes as much care as he possibly can to prevent your trouble in this respect. He proved this to you lately, when he made Lady Hood a Peerefs. I make no reflection on that Peerage, nor do I mean it; I think that Lord Hood has not had half of what he deserves: I only mentioned this as an instance, to prove to you how much the Minister wishes to save you the trouble of an Election. When he made Lady Hood a Peerefs, he delayed the patent of Lord Hood's Peerage until the Dissolution of Parliament. On the same principle, if you should (which notwithstanding the numbers on the poll I repeat I believe you will not) if you should however return Sir A. Gardner your Representative to Parliament, I much fear we shall lose the benefit of his future exertions against our foreign enemies; I should not wonder if the Minister should be unwilling to send Sir Alan Gardner again to sea for fear an accident should happen; it most undoubtedly might produce that which the Minister dislikes the most of all things, *another Westminster Election*. But it is exceedingly fortunate for the Admiral that he has lately taken up a new profession, that of *combating our domestic enemies*. Now I call this a new profession, for it never was understood before, that combating our domestic enemies made a part of the qualification of a seaman. I appeal to the Admiral himself. I am sure the Admiral will acknowledge, that when he was examined and passed as a Lieutenant in the Navy, not a
single

single syllable about domestic enemies was mentioned to him at his examination at the Admiralty Board, nor any thing that resembles it. But this profession he has now taken up. He has pledged himself to you to combat the domestic enemies of the country. Then, surely it is but fair to ask him to explain himself. It may be done in two words; it is fair to ask, who these domestic enemies are? and with what weapon will he combat them?

Gentlemen, who can tell! perhaps when the Admiral talks of domestic enemies, he means me; perhaps he means you; he may mean the Electors of Westminster, who have not supported him. Perhaps he means the enemies of his friend, the Minister; if he does, that will be a very large list indeed, for it would certainly include all those persons who are the true and real friends of their country. But I am not willing to give the Admiral too long a task at once, perhaps that may be the cause of his saying less to you. The length of what I said yesterday might be the cause of the shortness of the Admiral's answer to-day. But let the Admiral tell us who those domestic enemies are; let him satisfy us that he is not making a declaration like JACK FALSTAFF, of men in buckram suits. But it is impossible that the Admiral should have dishonoured his country, to say there were domestic enemies in it, without knowing that there were so. Then let him point them out to us, and I will join and combat with him, for I will fight under his standard, or any other, except the standard of the present Minister; for that Gentleman treacherously told us formerly, that the proprietors of boroughs were our domestic enemies; he afterwards, by the most atrocious means, attempted to take away our lives for following his own instructions. Gentlemen, they certainly were his own instructions, for I have them under his own hand-writing. Yet, I ought to be cautious when I say "*certainly*," for I have no better authority for it than the Minister's own oath at my trial at the Old Bailey."

At

At the close of the Poll for the Twelfth Day's Election, the number's were :—

For Mr. Fox	-	-	3961
Admiral Gardner	-	-	3884
Mr. Tooke	-	-	2303

Mr. F O X.

“ Gentlemen, by your exertions I head the poll by the number of Seventeen on this day's poll. I must desire a continuance of your exertion in my favour. Gentlemen, as peace has been mentioned to you by the other Candidates, it is necessary for me to advert to it. I am sure I shall be considered by every one who hears me not only an enemy to the present War now, but also to have been an enemy to it from the beginning, and I think I am entitled to say that no man, in proportion to his abilities, has done more to prevent the horrors of the present War, and procure Peace, than myself ; it gives great satisfaction to find, that even Ministerial Candidates in every part of this kingdom think it necessary to have the word Peace in their mouths, and in their Advertisements ; this is a compleat proof that Ministers and their party know (but what they wish to conceal) that the opinion of the people of England is clearly against the detestable War, and against those who carry it on. I trust that you and the other Electors of Great Britain have too much sense to be gulled by general professions of wishes for Peace ; but you should ask your Candidates what it is they will do to obtain Peace ? They say they will approve of Peace ; but do they say they will compel Ministers to do all they can to procure this Peace ; put them to the test upon this. The Ministerial Candidates will find a difficulty in it, for get Peace, and you will destroy the power of those who are carrying on the War. Is there a man among you who believes ? Is there a man any where in this kingdom, of any knowledge, who will pretend to believe, that

that the fall of the present administration would not procure us peace ? The test therefore to every Candidate should be, *whether he intends to support the power, or to diminish the influence of the present administration ?* Ministers themselves profess sometimes a desire for peace, and under that pretence, for it is no more, they have made a curious attempt at negotiation. I need not tell you what they sent to those whom they do not allow to possess the direction of the government of France.

“ Those who look at the conduct of our administration, and especially to the message which I have just alluded to, must think in one of two ways, those who think that Ministers possess a good capacity, must be of opinion they are insincere in their professions for peace ; those who think they are sincere must, by observing their conduct, be clearly of opinion against their capacity ; I give Ministers credit for neither the one nor the other, they have neither sincerity, wish for, nor capacity to carry on a negotiation. I trust therefore when your candidates talk of peace, and when you exact a promise from them to procure it, that you will not be content with their supporting the shadow of a negotiation, but that you will exercise that which is your right, declare your abhorrence of the present war, and declare also, what is already indeed apparent to the world at large, declare the necessity for a speedy Peace. Indeed the past negotiation, if negotiation it can be called, or whatever else it can be said to be, has shewn that Ministers if they wished it, are as incapable of carrying on a negotiation, as they have proved themselves to be in carrying on the war.

“ If these opinions are founded in reason, I trust you will shew you have not that sort of idea of Peace which the Ministerial Candidates have, but that you will by your votes for me, shew that peace is the first object of your choice ; this appears to me to be extremely material for you to shew, as it is material for every part of the kingdom to shew. I have opposed the war from its commencement, and I may say that you feel I have acted as an honest man by so doing. I think I may say so too,
without

without arrogance, I have acted with something more of wisdom than those who have conducted the war. This you will shew by supporting me. I believe I speak within compass, when I say there are still 5000 Electors of Westminster who have not polled at this Election. Those who approve of my conduct I hope will come forward and testify it by their votes. It is necessary you should distinctly and unequivocally declare your sentiments on this extraordinary crisis of our affairs."

Admiral G A R D N E R.

"Gentlemen, on this day's poll I am seventeen below the Right Honourable Gentleman. But as I told you before, I am not dismayed at being 17 below; to-morrow, I hope, I shall be placed in a very different situation. I have been told a great deal by one of your Candidates about my being determined to oppose our determined enemies; I hope it is not necessary for me to acquaint you again that I am a friend to the King, and a friend to the Constitution of this country; I hope there is not a man of you present who is of a different opinion; I thought it also necessary to inform you that I will stand against and determined to counteract the enemies of the Constitution, whether foreign or domestic; I happened to be born before the rebellion of 1745; I remember that rebellion; it made a very deep impression on my mind; I detest rebellion; I detest insurrection; I detest every thing seditious; I am persuaded there is not a man in this great multitude that comes under that description; I am not accustomed to speak in public, nor am I master of that eloquence which the other Candidates possess; I can only say I present myself to you as an honest man, Let me solicit you in the strongest manner I can, to continue your exertions in my favour; nothing will give me so much satisfaction; nothing will gratify me so much as to be at the head of the poll."

Mr. T O O K E.

"Gentlemen, you have, with great propriety, listened with patience to the Admiral this day, and I think that
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the attention you have given has been rewarded. You see it is very plain that the Admiral does not want words ; and it is as plain to me that he does not want matter ; the only difficulty he appears to labour under, springs not from himself, but from another quarter ; he is compelled to be careful how and what he explains. As he explained to you *an honourable peace* ? so has he explained to you *domestic enemies*. Gentlemen, I have discovered who are those *domestic enemies* ; you may discover it ; not from the words of the Minister, or of any Ministerial follower, but from their practice. You all know that a disciplined army is not pillaged or plundered, but the public are ; these are the domestic enemies from whom they take the booty. A nation that has been treated as this nation has been treated, has a right to demand two things ; security for the future, and justice for the past.

“ Mr. Fox, by his declaration to you, ought sufficiently to have satisfied you that he will use his utmost endeavours to obtain you both ; for myself, and for all that is personal to me, I should be well contented to let the delinquents go free, provided I should obtain security for the rights of the people in future. But as to the other candidate, you cannot have any reason to expect his assistance in procuring either. He is looking anxiously forward to that honourable Peace, of which neither him nor you, nor the Minister shall be ashamed. The Minister be ashamed of a peace ! He has not yet been ashamed of the war !

“ Gentlemen, the Admiral sorrowfully told you, that at a peace he may be reduced to half-pay, and he told you that he is Major-general of Marines, which would not be worth more to him than 600*l.* a year. I am frequently compelled, perhaps from the improper manner in which I speak, to request you not to misunderstand my words : the General !---O no ! the Admiral :---but the Admiral is the General, and therefore I may call him either---has this office. But I beg not to be misunderstood, I think he deserves double : but he did not, as I wish he had, he did not cast a thought, or utter a word

of

of those gallant officers of the navy, who, with equal claims, may be reduced to half-pay : they have no Minister to make them Generals of Marines ; but another thought struck me still stronger : If we are to have sham Generals, and sham Colonels of Marines, why are there not sham Marines for these poor private officers ? why they certainly will have one resource left for them ; they may, both Officers and Men, take up the new profession against our domestic enemies ; and no great wonder if they did, especially when they consider they have so many examples. The sea service is not a very active life, few Admirals, be they as lucky as they may be, can possibly expect to be in more than four or five brilliant actions in the whole of their lives. The Admiral has been in many. I mean to do him justice. But look at the other profession against the domestic enemies ; see the difference of the actions and the difference of the booty ; I will give you an instance of a man, a very young one, Mr. WILLIAM GRENVILLE ; look at his activity and his service ; I think he opened his campaign in the domestic warfare as Secretary of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland ; It is but a little time ago, and he took from the enemy a comfortable sinecure, however, this was only for a little skirmishing in Ireland ; fortunately for us, not for him, he came to England to join in the main battle, and he fought well ; he attacked, not a very strong place, the place of one of the Lords of the Treasury, and that produced him about 1600l. a year, he had scarcely got this place before he quitted it. He became Paymaster of the Forces, a good 2000l. a year. However, he had bent his mind more on *receipts* than *payments*, and therefore he quitted that place, and was made *Speaker of the House of Commons* ; this is 6000l. a year. You think perhaps that I have done ; O no ! the wig of the Speaker was scarcely fitted to his head before he left it off, and became *Secretary of State* ; for the profit of that place, if you ask me, I must say the salary is as much as the conscience of the possessor. Yes, but this hostility does not end here, the domestic enemy is attacked again, and he is shortly made a *Peer*. He is now a *Cabinet Councillor* and *Secretary of State*, and yet he has room

for further hostility, for he was made *Ranger of the Parks*, 2000l. or 3000l. a year more. But that would not do, and therefore he takes an old dismantled fortification, a few guns only dismounted, but it is still formidable to the foe, and he takes it gallantly, and he was made *Auditor of the Exchequer* with 7000l. a year. But you may ask, whether he has got any more? all I can tell is, that further whatever he may gain will be just as much as he can possibly get. Where do they get all this money? Why from the enemy, *the domestic enemy* to be sure! There is something very strange and very extraordinary in it to follow, for in all these hard services which this same Lord Grenville has gone through; in all the hardships that he has suffered; this Gentleman, (as far at least as I have heard of) never once complained of the want of bread! No, nor the dearness of it! No! nor of any taxes imposed upon him! He is one of those wise Statesmen of this great nation who entered into a solemn compact and agreement for many months to come (in order to relieve the public distress) that they will eat neither puddings nor pies! They proposed a substitute for you, (they did not say what it was) But these Ministers and their friends [looking at the Admiral] are very shy of explaining the words which they use. Upon other things they will talk freely of gratitude, of exertion, and so on; but, if you ask them for an explanation of certain terms they use, they are as silent as Dead Men, they have a reason for that; their is an old saying, that *Dead men tell no tales*. However in this attack on Domestic enemies, the saying is not true; for, it appears, that Dead Men only do tell tales.

“The famous Historian, Mr. Gibbon, has written an account of his campaign in this warfare: he was in the House of Commons for one Parliament; he too had a friendship for the Minister. He has freely explained as he went on he voted for the Minister; the Minister had therefore a friendship for him, and gave him 850l. a year. That Minister had violent disputes, and in the conflict of them the Minister lost his place, and Mr. Gibbon his salary:
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What then? Why then he was that gratuitous assistant to join another set of Ministers. Now he explains what he means by GRATUITY, and that will make it unnecessary for me to explain any more to you to-day. It was an expectation of 1000l. a year as Commissioner of the Customs. He fights under their banners until they become conquerors; then he was treated with injustice. He explains gravely thus: "My vote was counted in the day of battle, but I was overlooked in the division of the spoil."

At the close of the Poll for the thirteenth Day's Election, the numbers were:—

For Mr. Fox	-	-	4233
Admiral Gardner	-	-	4174
Mr. Tooke	:	-	2407

Mr. F O X.

"Sir Alan Gardner has polled more than me in the course of the day by 18 votes; there were two more following days; and he believed there were near five thousand electors yet who had not polled. He desired the electors would do him the honour to continue their exertions in his favour, for that it would be the most flattering thing to him, as well as it would, in his opinion, be the most beneficial to them, that he should be at the head of the poll."

Admiral G A R D N E R.

"I am at the head of this day's poll by the number of 18. The Right Honourable Gentleman thinks he will head me at the final close of the poll—I think very differently. I hope and trust that by a continuance of your exertions; by your partiality; by your favour; by your love for me—I shall succeed."

Mr.

Mr. T O O K E.

“ Gentlemen, the Admiral has said he will say no more this day. He talks of the word *love*---You will see how very fortunate he is in his answer to me. He gave you an account of what he remembered of the ground of the Rebellion of 45. But you are told every day from the other two Candidates, that the one or the other of them is at the head of the poll. I am then to give you only the choice, that either of these two Gentlemen should be at the head of the poll. You are to forget that there is another Candidate struggling in the cause. All that you are to consider, it seems, is, which of these two Gentlemen shall be at the head of the poll. Gentlemen, I never troubled you with the state of the poll—and yet I have looked at it every day, and since we are to talk of the poll, I will endeavour to make you understand it. I would not have you laugh, thinking that what I say is ironical. I am well content with the state of the poll, and I will tell you why : I am speaking to the electors of Westminster---it is their election, not mine : it is of some consequence to you, that you should understand the nature of the poll : to understand you must dissect it ; I have dissected it every day, and I will, by way of illustration, shew the result of the close of the poll yesterday. Upon the close of that poll, Mr. Fox's votes are of three sorts---the first are for Fox and Gardner, they amount to 1663.---the next are for Fox and Tooke, 1672.---the next are single votes for Fox, 726.---of these three sorts of votes the whole number is composed. Now, Gentlemen, to judge of these votes, and of this poll, you must consider the sort of votes : the votes of Fox and of Gardner : we must not disguise the truth, we must give the devil his due, we must do the devil justice. In order to estimate the sentiments of the Electors of Westminster, between the Minister and the public, it is necessary we should do justice as to the state of the poll at this election, and I will tell you the reason of it afterwards. These votes of Fox and Gardner (I suppose I may reason mistakingly, but I cer-

I certainly mean to reason fairly) these votes for Fox and Gardner, I say, I attribute to the Minister for these reasons: I do not think it would be unnatural to suppose that any of the friends of Fox, or any of his political connections, would or could possibly vote for Fox and Gardner, except, perhaps two or three; I suppose therefore, these Votes to have been given to Mr. Fox by the Minister; and for this reason; and which you may know without my telling it you now:---I told you in the beginning, I had the honour to be, of all men, the most hated by the Minister; and that for this plain reason—*That personal malice is not so strong for an injury received as for an injury offered*; and that explains the reason why the Minister hates me more than he does Mr. Fox; he has attempted to murder me; he has not yet attempted to murder the Right Honorable Gentleman; but, you know, he has attempted to murder me. This is a rational ground of the Ministers enmity to me; and so, indeed, his friend has told you upon these Hustings, as the Representative of the Minister; for he told you he should rather be returned to Parliament with the Right Honorable Gentleman than with me---why then I hope you will see that I reason fairly, when I reason thus—suppose I say that 1663 votes ought to be attributed to the influence of the Minister among those who have polled for Mr. Fox---why then I say that I should deduct from the total number who have polled for Mr. Fox 1663, and then I find the remainder to be 2298, when I compare that with my poll of 2303, then I have got five votes more than Mr. Fox. Ought not I then, ought not the public to be contented on this occasion, ought we not to be satisfied, that notwithstanding the long and tried services of your old friend and acquaintance; ought not the British Nation (at least those who in it are desirous to support the public cause, and who wish to protect your lives and your liberties) to triumph from this? for if the Minister could murder small Men, he would soon murder great ones. I say I am satisfied by your efforts in this Election. I am persuaded that
your

your spirit has felt no diminution of any kind in attachment to Mr. Fox; but the favors you have bestowed on me spring from no comparison between that Gentleman and myself, but all you have testified for me springs from indignation at the acts of the Minister.--- Why then let us examine the number of votes for each Candidate. The Candidates will not be displeased at me for doing so; they would be angry if I did not. With respect to the votes which have been given for Admiral Gardner, he will not be displeased at me for saying so---by all the numbers which appear for him upon the poll his vanity cannot be increased.---He knows full well they all belong to the Minister, and not to him, and he wishes the Minister to have the full credit of it---but look at the poll yesterday, 3884---for Fox and Gardner in that number 1663---for Tooke and Gardner 15---the single votes for the Admiral are 2106. Now see the mighty reason which either of the other Candidates has for exultation.---They may have each others votes if they please. However, I cannot spare to the Admiral the fifteen that have polled for the Admiral and me. I deduct that fifteen from the Admiral's votes, and I do it for this reason. It is so extremely unnatural a poll (although it has happened) that it is impossible to understand it in any but one way---certainly they who voted for the Admiral did not vote from any influence of mine. It is as certain that those who voted for me, did not vote from any influence of his---why then it is evident, those are 15 gentlemen, whose principles, and hearts, and minds, led them to espouse the public cause, but unfortunately they must act under a great and a commanding influence---they have acted, as often is done; as I might be compelled to do if you commanded me, for if you forced me to give my vote for you, I must do so; but then I would give the other for my own conscience. Such are the 15 persons who have voted for me and Sir Alan Gardner---and these are friends to the public cause---but I deduct them from the Admiral's Poll. Why then see the state of the poll
Gentlemen,

Gentlemen, of 2303, I believe you will agree with me there is not one to be deducted on my part. I have no personal connexion---I have no personal influence---and *I have no money.*

“ Now then, Gentlemen, what Mr. Fox told you the other day was certainly of importance, but I hope of not so much importance as he imagined, and yet I hope the conduct of the electors of Westminster will be such as if they felt that importance. He thinks there is in it a great deal, and that he should be at the head of the poll. The Minister is at least 1500 before him at this Election. But do you not be discouraged, Gentlemen: Go on, and if it is possible, keep Mr. Fox at the head of the poll instead of the Minister. It is my wish to see Mr. Fox at the head of the poll. The public have declared their wishes already upon that subject: You have declared also: But the influence of the Court has been exerted. The Judges have polled, the Masters in Chancery have polled; the King's Messengers have polled; the King's Footmen have polled; the King's Scullions have polled; the whole of the squad belonging to the Admiralty Board; all your Placemen, Pensioners, and Dependents have polled for Sir Alan Gardner, so that it is impossible to form a precise judgment by the Poll of what the real opinion is of the Electors of Westminster. It is impossible to form that opinion until the whole poll is dissected. I have endeavoured to prevent you being discouraged in this election. I believe, nay, I am sure that I have lost votes from some discouragement or other, because not one third of those who declared themselves in my favor have yet polled. At the close of the poll I certainly meant to be second, and although I should not be able until another election to talk to more than 50 people together, without the consent of a Justice, yet for your information I will try what I can do to serve you---I am sorry to have detained you so long---but one word, and only one more. While I was addressing you yesterday the Admiral made, what I wish he would make often, an observation on what I

said. I was giving you an account of the gallant acts of Lord Grenville. The Admiral said, he did not see what that had to do with this election. What I have said hitherto to you was not on the course of election only; but I agree that what I said was improper, unless it had to do with the affairs of the public---that the Admiral neither mentioned nor thought of. I said so then. I say so still. You should know these things, for it is out of your pockets that the taxes are taken. The Admiral knows it is of some consequence to find out a leak at sea. I have found out the leak, the public leak; not where it runs in, but where it runs out. Now this is a strong argument for the Electors of Westminster not to return Admiral Gardner, but to return me; for the Admiral has not said he will do any thing to stop that leak; now if you return me, I will stop that leak or I will die for it."

At the close of the Poll for the Fourteenth Day's Election, the numbers were:—

For Mr. Fox	-	-	4625
Sir Alan Gardner	-		4486
Mr. Tooke	-	-	2560

Mr. F O X,

" Gentlemen, I am glad that by your exertions I am so high upon the poll, and that by so considerable a number, as to put me more above the Admiral than I have been before at any period of this election. I have always stated to you the situation of the poll, whether I was much at the head of it or not: I have done so for this reason, because I stood singly at this election. As I first told you by my advertisement, and by my addresses before you here, I shall now state how we now stand on the poll, and shall compare the numbers for me, with those for the Admiral, rather than those for Mr. Tooke, because

cause the Admiral is the candidate my superiority over whom appears to me to be most important for the public cause. Some observations have been made on this poll yesterday : I shall trouble you with but very few. I see it in a more favourable view than those who have hitherto spoken of it. I cannot help thinking that this poll is to be taken thus : Those who have voted for the Admiral singly ; those who have voted for Mr. Tooke singly ; those who have voted for me singly, joined to those who have voted for Mr. Tooke and me. Now in one or other of these views, this poll ought to be taken, and viewing it so, I say there is a majority over government of above 1000. This is a clear majority against those who have given their sanction to this war. It has been told you, and truly, that if you deduct from the numbers polled for the Admiral, all persons holding places, emoluments, or pensions, you would then indeed find the majority against government, to be of course greater in proportion to that deduction, which is a very large one certainly. It has been said that many who have voted for the Admiral, and voted also for me, were so many votes given to me by the Minister ; if so I am a very ungrateful man, for I feel no gratitude whatever on that account ; many persons give their votes at such a popular election as this, more from motives of personal preference, than from any general view of politics ; many did so in the last contest, and many, I have no doubt, gave them on the principles which Mr. Tooke stated to you : some, I have no doubt have been compelled to give their votes for the Admiral as one, and gave the other according to their conscience ; that was the case I have no doubt with the fifteen that Mr. Tooke mentioned who polled for the Admiral, and for him : if there are fifteen in this situation with regard to him, I think I may say there are hundreds in that situation with regard to me. I cannot help observing to you that the Admiral told you, he wished rather success to me than Mr. Tooke ; possibly Ministers wish not to make an attack where they have

the least chance of success; but if they do not carry on their domestic faction better than they have carried on the war, their reasoning upon that point will be very inconclusive.

“ I know from experience, that at the close of the poll on the last day of the election, it is very difficult to obtain a hearing, for which reason I shall address to you a few words more, lest on Monday I shall not have the same opportunity. In my advertisement, and in my addresses to you, I have given my opinion on the present Government of this Country, and of the Parliament who supported it. I will give you my opinion again as explicitly as I can. They have (whatever might have been their views and intentions) they have been the cause of spending more of the treasure of Great Britain, and shedding more of the blood of human beings in every part of this world, than any other Government that ever preceded them. With the word *humanity* in their mouths, they have filled every quarter of the earth with more misery, and with *religion* in their professions, they have spilled more Christian blood than any King, Prince, or Emperor ever did in the annals of the world. They have been the cause of destroying more of God's creatures, than the greatest conqueror in ancient or modern history; and have lost more at the same time, than any of those conquerors ever gained. This applies to them with regard to their foreign policy. With regard to their domestic conduct it is most infamous. They have sent men to Botany Bay contrary to law; contrary to justice; contrary to the principles of humanity (which ought to be the principle of all law) they were tried indeed, but their trials were conducted in such a manner that every lover of justice, of humanity, and lover of order and submission to the law, must revolt at in his own mind. They have spilled no blood at home indeed, with the exception of one of their own spies in Scotland: but one of my competitors told you they made an attack on his life; they did so; and on others also. Now I appeal to all those who hear
me

me, whether these gentlemen themselves, whose lives were brought in question by this attack upon them from Government, whether they, I say, ever felt more than myself, or spoke more openly their sentiments, and expressed more strongly their resentment of these infamous prosecutions than I have. I know it is the custom of the Ministerial party to say, that I use inflammatory language to the people. If Ministers bring this country to such a state as that a recital of it inflames the people, it is their fault, and not the fault of those who tell the people what their condition is. I do not wish the people of England to be inflamed, but I do wish them to feel a proper sense of the injuries they have received, and to express that sense like Englishmen.

“ The law that was passed, in the last Session of Parliament has made it impossible for more than fifty persons to meet without being subject to the interference of a Magistrate. If you take my advice, this law will not disturb your meeting. Meet*—act in obedience to the law, which does not forbid your meeting, it only empowers the Magistrate to commit you if you act improperly. Meet then I say, conduct yourselves with propriety, and see whether any one will dare to oppose you. Bad as this law is, by all means obey it; but unite with your obedience to this law, a determination to express your opinions and sentiments of public measures and men, with the firmness and temper which becomes freemen. By such a demeanor you will set a good example to the rest of the Kingdom, which must immediately have a good effect, and must influence in some degree the conduct of Ministers. Gentlemen, I have spoken plainly and openly to you, and I will

* The right of the People of this country to assemble upon popular questions where their interests are materially concerned, is a particular specification, and one link of that inestimable Chain of the BRITISH CONSTITUTION, (of 1688) the BILL OF RIGHTS, and strenuously insisted upon by our Ancestors as a check upon those who may hold the executive part of the Government of this Country.

conclude

conclude with repeating, that in my conscience I believe that Government has been by none exaggerated; a more detestable one never existed in British history, and not to detain you longer, I will sum up its character in two words. This administration has destroyed more human beings in its foreign war than Louis XIV. and attempted the lives of more innocent men at home than Hen. VIII."

Admiral G A R D N E R

Then addressed the Electors, and wished them to continue their exertions in his favour, for that he was very desirous to be at the head of the poll.

Mr. T O O K E.

"It appears to me, Gentlemen, almost unnecessary for me to utter one word after what Mr. Fox has said; I am willing to concur in the statement of the poll which he has given, and indeed if I was not, it would be almost impossible for me to contest any thing with a man who has spoken as he has done. This poll is drawing towards its close, and will probably be the last opportunity that I shall have of addressing you; for Monday will be a busy day, I will not tire you, Gentlemen; that would be an ill return for the great favour and indulgence which I have received from you. I beg to assure you, that no man feels the insult of his enemies less, nor the kindness of his friends more, than myself. Gentlemen, if God shall be pleased to protect my life from disease, and from the putrid dungeons of tyrannical and sanguinary ministers, whatever may be the event of the poll, I shall certainly meet you here again on the first vacancy. Gentlemen, Ministers have dreaded the commencement of the reign of terror in this land. I have only to draw the conclusion from what you have heard from Mr. Fox, therefore I say there are two objects which shall engage the remainder of my life; to obtain what the people have a right to demand, and what, I trust, they soon will receive—security for the future, and justice for the past."

At

At the final close of the Poll, the numbers were:—

For Mr. Fox	-	-	5160
Admiral Gardner	-	-	4810
Mr. Tooke	-	-	2819

The Deputy High-Bailiff then proclaimed the return, whereby he stated that Mr. Fox and Sir Alan Gardner were duly elected.

On *Tuesday, July 14*, The following Advertisements appeared.

To the Worthy and Independent ELECTORS of the CITY
and LIBERTIES of WESTMINSTER.

“ GENTLEMEN,

“ **T**HE generous and disinterested exertions by which you have so honorably placed me at the head of the Poll, call for my warmest acknowledgments.

“ The constancy with which you have preserved, and, in various circumstances, repeatedly exhibited your partial attachment to me, fills me with pride and gratitude.

“ But the unanswerable proofs that in the course of this Election have appeared of your sentiments upon these points, which have of late been the subjects of political dispute, afford me a satisfaction of a still higher nature.

“ I see, with pleasure and triumph, that those harsh laws and odious prosecutions which, together with other measures of a similar tendency, were framed, and carried on for the purpose of subduing the spirit of the People, have, in this City at least, failed of their effect.

“ While this spirit remains unbroken every thing is to be hoped. The most ingenious tyranny has never been able to devise means of preventing a spirited People from declaring their sentiments.

“ The sense of such a People, when legally and resolutely pronounced, must be obeyed. And if our countrymen, in the more distant parts of the Kingdom, think, speak and act like the Citizens of Westminster, I will venture to predict that it will not be long before it is in the power of the true friends to the Constitution to restore peace to Europe, and liberty to Great Britain.

South-Street,
June 13, 1796.

“ I am, Gentlemen, your most obliged,

“ and grateful humble Servant,

“ C. J. FOX.”

To the ELECTORS of WESTMINSTER.

"GENTLEMEN,

"BY the time when I shall next meet you at another Election, your taxes, burdens and oppressions will be still heavier, and your desire of relief more ardent; for the Ministers of this country are pursuing a career, in which they cannot stop. They must go on, or go off—Corruption, like a dropsy will swell till it bursts. And the means of force and coercion, which they have lately prepared for us—their Treason and Sedition Bills, their Volunteers, their Fencibles and their Barracks—only tend to hasten the crisis.

"Be moderate and firm, if we can do no better for our country, let our carcases at least manure the soil which has fed us. Our Ancestors in the last century, who fled from slavery, loved liberty well; but they who stayed, and by their suffering and exertions, vindicated and established it, loved it better, and deserved better of posterity.

"Again, Gentlemen, I request you to be moderate and firm: and we shall soon obtain, what ought to be the morning and evening determination of every Englishman—Security for the future, and Justice for the past.

Wimbleton,

June 14, 1796.

"I am, Gentlemen, your most obedient Servant,

"JOHN HORNE TOOKE."